

Message Text

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FOR THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (FORD, GERALD) SP

SUBJECT: MEMORANDUM FROM STABLER TO SECRETARY

REF: SECTO 02001

1. IN THE ABSENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA, WHO NOW IN PARIS, I CALLED ON PRIME MINISTER ARIAS AT NOON TODAY TO DISCUSS WITH HIM THE PROPOSAL CONTAINED IN MY MEMORANDUM TO YOU OF MAY 23 WHICH WAS APPROVED BY REFTEL. I EXPLAINED THE GENERAL PURPOSE OF THE PROPOSAL AND WHY WE BELIEVED THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO BOTH SPAIN AND TO THE U.S. I SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT ATTACHED GREAT IMPORTANCE TO HIS VISIT TO SPAIN AND THAT THE PROPOSAL FOR THIS MEETING SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE IMPORTANCE THAT IS ATTACHED TO THE VISIT. I THEN GAVE ARIAS A COPY OF THE LIST WHICH HE GLANCED AT AND RETURNED TO ME. HE NOTED THAT A NUMBER OF THOSE ON THE LIST HAD BEEN MINISTERS UNDER FRANCO, AND SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED LOPEZ BRAVO AND SILVO MUNOZ, AND SAID THAT THE LATTER WAS, OF COURSE, NOW ENGAGED IN FORMING A POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

2. ARIAS WAS QUITE CHILLY IN HIS OVERALL COMMENTS. SAID THAT THE PROPOSAL CAME TO HIM AS A SURPRISE, AT THE SAME TIME, HE COULD NOT SAY THAT HE WAS EITHER DISPLEASED

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OR PLEASED BY IT.

HE THEN WENT ON TO SAY THAT ALTHOUGH THE GOS REGOGNIZED THE EFFORTS THE US HAD MADE AT THE DPC, NONETHELESS, SPAIN HAD BEEN OUTRAGED BY THE INTOLERABLE ATTITUDES WHICH HAD BEEN ADOPTED BY MANY OF THE NATO COUNTRIES WHICH FLATLY REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE SPAIN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN DEFENSE. THESE ATTITUDES RAISED SERIOUS QUESTIONS AS TO SPAIN'S ROLE IN EUROPE, AND IT SEEMED AS IF MANY OF THE NATO ALLIES WERE QUITE OBLIVIOUS TO WHAT MIGHT ULTIMATELY OCCUR IN SPAIN IF COMMUNISM SHOULD SPREAD FROM PORTUGAL.

3. ARIAS THEN SAID THAT THERE WERE ELEMENTS IN SPAIN WHICH DID NOT LOOK WITH FAVOR ON THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT BECAUSE THEY WERE CONVINCED THAT THE US WOULD NOT GIVE SPAIN SATISFACTION WITH RESPECT TO WHAT IT REQUIRES IN CONNECTION WITH THE RENEWAL OF THE AGREEMENT. THE ADVERSE REACTION TO EVENTS AT THE DPC WOULD ONLY INCREASE THE DISSATISFACTION OF THESE ELEMENTS. ARIAS SAID THAT IN EXAMINING THE PROGRAM FOR THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT YESTERDAY, HE HAD BEEN DISTURBED TO FIND THAT SO LITTLE TIME HAD BEEN ALLOTTED FOR MEETINGS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE CHIEF OF STATE. HE HAD BEEN LED TO BELIEVE (APPARENTLY BY HIS OWN PEOPLE) THAT THERE WOULD BE TIME ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 1 FOR A SECOND SUBSTANTIVE MEETING BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE CHIEF OF STATE. HE NOW UNDERSTANDS THAT THE DEPARTURE WOULD HAVE TO BE AT 9:20, INSTEAD OF 10 A.M.. AS PRIME MINISTER, HE HAD TO BEAR IN MIND THAT THE CHIEF OF STATE WAS NOW IN HIS 83RD YEAR AND IT WAS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR FRANCO TO DO SOME OF THE THINGS THAT YOUNGER MEN MIGHT DO. THE FACT THAT SO LITTLE TIME HAD BEEN ALLOTTED FOR MEETINGS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE CHIEF OF STATE SUGGESTED THAT PERHAPS THE US DID NOT ATTACH THAT MUCH IMPORTANCE TO THE VISIT. MOREOVER, IT WAS HIS VIEW THAT MANY SPANIARDS WOULD FIND IT STRANGE, TO SAY THE LEAST, THAT ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT COULD FIND TIME TO MEET WITH A GROUP OF NONOFFICIAL PEOPLE, HE DID NOT HAVE THE TIME FOR A SECOND SUBSTANTIVE MEETING WITH THE CHIEF OF STATE.

4. ARIAS WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE WAS CONDUCTING A POLICY OF LIBERALIZATION, BUT IT WAS A POLICY THAT HAD TO BE
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CARRIED OUT IN A TEMPO THAT WAS APPROPRIATE TO SPAIN IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE DEVELOPMENT OF A SITUATION OF A PORTUGUESE TYPE OR A SITUATION OF THE ITALIAN TYPE. ALSO, THE PRESIEENT'S VISIT WAS AN OFFICIAL ONE AND THIS TYPE OF UNOFFICIAL ACTIVITY WAS NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH SPANISH CUSTOM.

5. WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION OF THE TIMING OF THE

PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE ON THE MORNING OF JUNE 1. I TOLD ARIAS THAT FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, WE HAD INFORMED THE GOS THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD ARRIVE THE MORNING OF MAY 31 AND DEPART THE MORNING OF JUNE 1. IT HAD ALSO BEEN MADE CLEAR FROM THE OUTSET THE REASONS WHICH LAY BEHIND THE PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE ON JUNE 1, AND I ASSURED HIM THAT WE HAD MADE EVERY EFFORT TO BE AS CLEAR AS POSSIBLE FROM THE VERY OUTSET. WITH RESPECT TO THE PROPOSED MEETING WITH UNOFFICIAL SPANIARDS, I SAID THAT THIS WAS THE TYPE OF EVENT WHICH FREQUENTLY OCCURRED DURING OFFICIAL VISITS BY FOREIGN LEADERS TO WASHINGTON, AND, THEREFORE, IT WAS NOT SOMETHING THAT WAS UNUSUAL OR SURPRISING AS FAR AS WE WERE CONCERNED.

6. ARIAS CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT, AS I SURELY MUST HAVE REPORTED WASHINGTON, SPAIN IS NOT LIVING UNDER A DICTATORSHIP AND THAT THERE IS A FREE PRESS, FREEDOM FOR PEOPLE TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS, ETC. ONCE PRESIDENT FORD SET FOOT ON SPANISH SOIL, HE WAS "AT HOME" AND COULD DO WHATEVER HE WISHED. IT WAS NOT FOR THE PRIME MINISTER TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT THE PRESIDENT SHOULD HOLD SUCH A MEETING--IT WAS THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION. AT THE SAME TIME, HE HOPED THAT THE QUESTION WOULD BE CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF THE COMMENTS HE HAD MADE TO ME.

7. COMMENT: IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE PROGRAM HAS BEEN DEVELOPED TO DATE BETWEEN HOMER LUTHER OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL, AMBASSADOR PAN DE SORA LUCE, LUTHER AND I WENT TO SEE THE CHIEF OF PROTOCOL (AFTER I HAD COMPLETED MY CALL ON ARIAS) TO INFORM HIM IN GENERAL TERMS OF THE PROPOSAL AND THAT TIME FRAME IN WHICH THE MEETING MIGHT TAKE PLACE. PAN DE SORA LUCE TOOK NOTE OF THE IDEA WITHOUT ENTHUSIASM. HE ALSO INDICATED THAT ARIAS
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WOULD BE SEEING FRANCO TOMORROW TO GO OVER THE PROGRAM WITH HIM. IN HIS TALK WITH ME, ARIAS MADE NO MENTION OF THIS, NOR DID HE SUGGEST THAT HE WOULD BE COMMUNICATING FURTHER WITH ME ON THE PROPOSAL.

8. ALTHOUGH ARIAS WAS DISTINCTLY COLD TO THE IDEA, AND I FRANKLY DID NOT EXPECT A BETTER RECEPTION TO THIS PROPOSAL, NONETHELESS, HE DID NOT TAKE THE POSITION THAT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD A MEETING OF THIS SORT BE ARRANGED. QUITE CLEARLY, HE DOES NOT LIKE THE IDEA SINCE HE REALIZES IT WILL NOT BE WELL RECEIVED BY FRANCO AND IT MAY CAUSE HIM DIFFICULTIES WITH THE PRO-FRANCO "DIE-HARDS".

9 THERE ARE, OF COURSE, RISK IN THE PROPOSAL IN THAT

IT WILL IRRITATE ELEMENTS IN THE GOS, SOME MILITARY AND EXTREME RIGHT ELEMENTS. IF OUR DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP WITH SPAIN IS SO FRAGILE THAT IT WOULD FLOUNDER ON SOMETHING OF THIS SORT, THEN IT IS A WEAK REED, INDEED. MY OWN GUESS IS THAT IF WE GO FORWARD WITH THIS PORPOSAL, WE WILL TAKE SOME FLAK, BUT IT WILL NOT BE ENDURING AND WILL GAIN US CONSIDERABLE CREDIT FOR THE FUTURE. I MIGHT ADD THAT IF THE MEETING DOES TAKE PLACE, THIS WILL BE THE FIRST TIME THAT ANY CHIF OF STATE OR HEAD OF GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE DONE IT. PREVIOUS OCCASIONS HAVE INVOLVED MEETINGS BY SCHEEL SEVERAL YEARS AGO WITH "DEMOCRATIC OPPOSITION" ELEMENTS AND BY GENSCHER IN APRIL WITH POLITICAL ELEMENTS OPERATING IN THE SYSTEM, THE LIST WE HAVE COVERS A MUCH BROADER AND REPRESENTATIVE SEGMENT OF SPANISH LIFE.

10. IT MIGHT BE PRUDENT TO WAIT UNTIL AFTER ARIAS SEES FRANCO TOMORROW BEFORE MAKING A FINAL DETERMINATION. IF THERE IS A VIOLENT REACTION, THEN WE SHALL HAVE TO CONSIDER THE BEST COURSE. IF THERE IS NO FUTURE REACTION, THEN I WOULD RECOMMEND THAT WE TRY TO SET UP THE MEETING, ALTHOUGH BY THEN, TIME TO MAKE THE ARRANGEMENTS WILL BE RUNNING VERY SHORT, INDEED.

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